2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ .

possibly these Dorobo had been poor Masai, who, having lost their cattle, had taken to hunting, is probably the correct one. It would appear likely that the Dorobo in question were *Ndorobo*, though Sir Claud was unable to satisfy himself as to their true origin.

The original *Ndorobo* are stated to have come from the Kinongo [1] district of the Masai. It may be that this is the case, as the name Kinongo originally stood for a very large tract of country—in fact, almost the whole area occupied to-day by the Masai of Tanganyika Territory. It is certain that there now are *Ndorobo* Dorobo with the Masai throughout the length and breadth of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve, and it becomes more difficult daily to find *Ndorobo* who still devote themselves to hunting. Even those who own little or no stock prefer to live with their richer brethren or with the Masai. The younger men have never led a bush life. They carry spears [2] (and, when appropriate, shields) and do not care to be reminded of the fact that they were ever other than the Masai.

Occasionally, when an elephant or other large beast is killed by the European sportsman, a few old men (Masai, to all outward seeming) will make their appearance unobtrusively, generally accompanied by donkeys. Having obtained permission, they will proceed to rip and hack away huge quantities of the flesh with a determination and cheerful clumsiness seldom to be met with in the Masai. When the donkeys have been loaded with as much meat as they can carry, the old gentlemen will quietly depart, bound, presumably, for a banquet of Gargantuan proportions. Should one ask, they will admit shyly that they are *Ndorobo*, but will almost always add: "We are now Masai again."

I think there can be no doubt that the Masai and the *Ndorobo* are one and the same. The opinions of the Masai (notoriously unwilling to admit the equality of others) and the *Ndorobo* themselves are unanimous on the matter, and I have been unable to discover any shred of evidence to the contrary. It would appear reasonable to assume that the *Ndorobo* are the

[1] The spoor would not seem to be an indigenous Dorobo weapon.

2; Maguire G-5 (c.a. 1926) 1927-28
FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

descendants of the hardier members of the Masai tribe, who were forced to adopt a life of hunting when supplies were short, as on the occasions when rinderpest swept through the Masai herds, leaving famine in its wake.

The changes from the original stock wrought by environment alone in many Western races are more marked than the differences to be observed between the *Ilaiokpo* and their parent tribe. It may be said, in the case of the *Ilaiokpo*, that environment would seem to have done its work with remarkable swiftness if any outward difference can be detected between the *Ilaiokpo* and the Masai to-day, but is not Africa a country of mushroom growths?

Il-Kinyaleksut

The *Kinyaleksut* Dorobo would seem to be to the Kwavi or Lumbwa [1] Masai what the *Ilaiokpo* is to the Masai proper. The Lumbwa, with the *Kinyaleksut*, live on the southern border of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve and in various small communities throughout the Dodoma, Kilosa and Handeni Districts. There are, also, Lumbwa in Usambara, east of the Pangani river. The Lumbwa state that the *Kinyaleksut* Dorobo originated in or near Morogoro, but as many *Kinyaleksut* are found wherever the Lumbwa live, I do not think this assertion can be relied on except inasmuch as it refers to the *Kinyaleksut* who sprang from that section of the Lumbwa which itself " originated " in Morogoro.

I have listened to the speech of the *Kinyaleksut* (who have no language but Masai),[2] and in it can be detected the typical characteristics which distinguish the pronunciation of the Lumbwa from that of the Masai proper. The *Kinyaleksut* call themselves Lumbwa,[3] live with the Lumbwa and move when they move. They have, as a general rule, small herds of

[1] Ki-Kwavi. The Lumbwa and the Masai proper are not friendly. Any account of their differences would be too lengthy to insert here, as the original cause of discord is of some antiquity. There were some small skirmishes [illegible] and also to show [illegible] the Lumbwa are many enemies to [illegible]

[2] See note 3, p. 131.

[3] Kwavi, rather, as the name " Lumbwa " is not to be found among the Kwavi, being a term of contempt applied to those who, particularly here, have adopted agricultural habits.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLA Dorobo FLA

or whether they are as closely connected as the *Mviru*, *Mdisi* and *Kisenkese*, I am unable to say, as I have had little opportunity of meeting them or of making inquiries about them.

The *Kitokwda* and *Kisongwe* live in the country of the Wangiwa and Wasigua,[1] and are stated to have lived always with or on the outskirts of these Bantu tribes. On the formation of the Tanganyika Mami Reserve in 1923, the Wangiwa and Wasigua inhabiting the Tabenni-Gitu-Mtambalo area were moved eastwards. With them went the *Kitokwda* and *Kisongwe*. Rumogi says that many of them would have preferred to remain in Mamiland where honey is plentiful, but their Bantu masters were adamant and insisted on the Dorobo following them. The *Kitokwda* and *Kisongwe*, dependent for the necessities of life on the Wangiwa and Wasigua (particularly in a bad season when honey and game are scarce) went perforce.

The *Kitokwda* and *Kisongwe* spend a considerable amount of time in the bush, honey-gathering. They are entirely ignorant of the Mami language, as a general rule, but know Kingiwa and Kisigua and often both. They are stated to have a primitive tongue of their own, but on this point I am unable to speak definitely. It has also been said that some of them speak the *Mviru* language, and although this may be the case, I am inclined to think that the presence of a few *Mviru*, who live in scattered settlements just on the Handeni-Mami border and who cultivate small gardens of maize and millet, may have given rise to this belief.

The *Kitokwda* and *Kisongwe* Dorobo may be impoverished Wangiwa and Wasigua, but I think it more likely that they are Dorobo[2] in origin. There would seem to be little reason for an agriculturist to turn into a hunter.[3] The few *Kitokwda* and *Kisongwe* I have seen differ entirely in general physical characteristics from their Bantu neighbours (who do not admit consanguinity with them), and their speaking only Kingiwa or

[1] They are the same current among the Mami and the Dorobo in Handeni, but in many the different names are used in the Handeni country.

[2] To the west of Handeni District is the Dorobo District.

[3] Perhaps it would be better to say Dorobo.

[4] [illegible]

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

ndigai who lead a life of hunting. These people (being Maasai and Il-Okiep, if my conclusions are not erroneous) are pastoralists at heart, and nearly all the elders have their own small herds of cattle to-day. As for the younger generations, they are now Maasai and Il-Okiep respectively to all outward seeming.

The *Aramanik* (in the Maipo area) are also rapidly becoming Maasai, and my failure to glean more information about them may be attributed to this cause. My opportunities for investigating the *Aramanik* of the northern areas (*O-nolyoke L'ulutwa*[1] and round the northern end of Eyasi lake) have been extremely limited, but it would seem that they are far less susceptible to Maasai influence than are their brethren at Maipo and Lo'ookomai. The *Aramanik* present a definite problem, and I think it will be agreed that their possession of a distinct language and the very meagre information about them contained in this paper warrant further investigation with the promise of interesting results. It may be that their identity will be obvious to some people. I am not prepared to put forward any theory as to their origin and how they came to occupy the areas they live in to-day, but I am convinced that they are not Maasai, as are the *Dalatoga*.

The *Kitabarabo* and *Kisongora* Dorobo (if these be their true names) might also repay investigation. They certainly differ from the other types of Dorobo dealt with here.

Among the *Mbiuru* Maasai influence wanes yearly, and in time they, too, will cease to exist as a separate people. The comparatively high prices the Maasai are willing to pay for *Mbiuru* women; the fact that the Maasai are always ready to employ the younger *Mbiuru* men as herds; the stricter enforcement by Government of the Game Laws; all these factors contribute to the abandonment of bush life by the *Mbiuru*, who are keen but far from unintelligible.

I believe the *Mbiuru* to have been once closely allied to the *Aramanik* of the East. If they were not pure Dorobo? The evidence of language would seem to be indisputable, but it is a moot

[1] *Ngorongoro localities.* These Dorobo are entirely distinct from the *Aramanik* mentioned above by Mr. H. S. Maguire (see note 1, p. 259).
[2] See Hobley: The Dorobo, p. 6.

2:Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

difficult matter to explain how the *Mósiro* of Talassai came into contact so far south—assuming them to have been Nandi originally. In addition to the other points of resemblance between the *Mósiro* and the Nandi that may have been noted throughout this paper, it may be of interest to state that the *Mósiro* possess and use a four-stringed lyre[1] of much the same shape and construction as that illustrated on p. 39 of Sir Claud Hollis's work on the Nandi. The *Mósiro* are skilled performers on this lyre, which is quite foreign to the Masai. The other Nandi musical instruments (with the exception of the war-horn) are not known to the *Mósiro*, as far as I have been able to discover.

I have said elsewhere that the bulk of the Kenya Dorobo would seem (according to the statements made by the Dorobo from whom the present information has been derived) to be *Asumwek* and *Balekye*. This was with reference to the Dorobo living among the Kenya Masai and was not intended to include such Dorobo as there may be among the Nandi to-day.

On one occasion I was lured to walk over twenty miles by the promise of being shown some "rock-paintings" alleged to have been made by the *Mósiro* or other Dorobo and to be extremely ancient. My informant assured me that no man could remember the time when they had been done and that the cave in which they were was regarded with great reverence throughout the countryside. I went, only to discover that the place was a disused *Ol-pul* and that the paintings (most of them were of Masai shields, but some were of a character bordering on the lascivious) had obviously been made by Dorobo or Masai Morans within the last few years or so.[2] Some were even broken. Charcoal, red ochre, lime and wood-ash were the mediums used.

To the casual observer (particularly one new to Africa) the Dorobo, Masai, Kikuyu, Gogo and even the Arusha warrior often in panoply might all seem to belong to the same tribe. To the habituated eye there would be many differences readily

[1] *Kipturgwet* (Nandi); *Orutuki* (Masai).

[2] When my three Dorobo go into Nairobi they are often accompanied by one or more Dorobo, generally African. The duties of the latter are to guard the Masai warriors' kits, and not make themselves generally useful. Each retinue is as much seen as they can possibly

105 Wakwafi (Wa-) &c, who therefore boast of their own superior lineage. These poor people speak a language of the Wakwafi, but it appears they have also a language of their own,[1] knowledge of which would undoubtedly enrich the treasury of African philology." Except by, of course, writing of Dorobo in contrast with the southern Nilo. The latest contribution to the study of the Dorobo, that of Hobley in the *Journ. of the African Society*, vol. xxviii (1929), is disappointing, and marred by ignorance of Swahili, a knowledge of which is essential in treating of the Dorobo.

101 The subdivisions and sections of the Dorobo in Kenya and Tanganyika are as follows:—

Kenya Dorobo.

(111)

1. Kinálo-Kipsigisiyek.	In contact with the Swahili-speaking tribes of Swahili, Kamasya, and Kipsigis.
2. Le-Kumi.	
3. Siau.	
4. Ok of Kipsigis.	
5. Chebarmach, Kamish, and Kiptorch, on the Mau escarpment.	In contact with the Nilote.
6. Ndo.	
7. Kiley.	
8. Ong.	
9. Okiek and Lokoitch, N. of Mt. Kenya (Case Egan).	In contact with Kikuyu-speaking tribes.

Tanganyika Dorobo.

10. Tatog[1] (or, D'S.
11. Mbo[2]
12. Aramik[3]

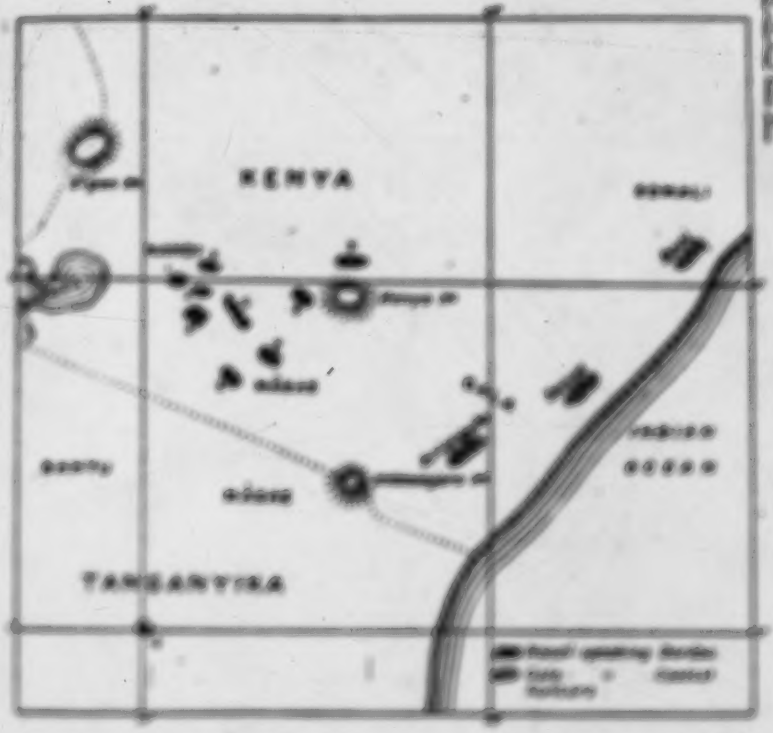
101 All these races speak dialects of Swahili, irrespective of the linguistic groups with which they may be in contact. The possession of a Swahili dialect seems to be one criterion by which true Dorobo can be distinguished. (Swahili may, from the

● 104 The origin the Dorobo is uncertain. Those of the Kinálo-Kipsigisiyek group do not (or undoubtedly have the Swahili in physical characters, except in one or two details, not one particularly due to environment.) Some also are unusual, share [illegible] by Nilotes and Swahili-speakers, and to the Swahili [illegible] Others whom they are near, whom they first came into this part of eastern

[illegible]

3:Huntingford E-S (1921-1928)929 FLA Dorobo FLA

Aldin; in the Nimo story called "Kaiamchop" (Beginner of earth) there were originally three things on earth—an elephant, a snake and a Dorobo (E.N., p. 900); and in the Kamli story "Tapsoiff ap mort" (The beginning of the earth) God found three things on earth—an elephant, the thunder, and a Dorobo (E.N., p. 111). The Dorobo tradition that "we have always lived here" seems to confirm these 194 ●



stories. Further, Hollis quotes (E.N., p. 96) a tradition of the Nisi also, that a Dorobo gave birth to a boy and a girl, who issued from a seedling in his bag, and who became the ancestors of "all the people upon earth." We may note that among the Kimalilo Kipchigilandi Dorobo the chief clan is the Nisi or Kalenjarin. Both

show the Dorobo resemble the Masai in features, customs, and language. We can only

3:Huntingford E-5 (921.-1923)929 FLA Dorobo FLA

on both certain theories as to their origin, which are offered as a starting point from which to work. The theories are :—

(1) That the Dorobo are an autochthonous people who were found in East Africa by the Bantu and Masai, and who have assimilated not only the Bantu language, but also some of their customs and religious ideas.

(2) That the Dorobo are part of the parent-stock of the Masai-Bantu group.

(3) That the Dorobo are part of the Bantu sub-group, who broke off from the main body very much earlier than the other tribes, and had been separated so long from them that their original relationship had been forgotten by the time they came in contact again.

To all of these theories there are objections, not the least of which are linguistic. The conclusions arrived at with regard to the origin of a language do not necessarily hold good for the origin of the people who speak it; but in this case the language is almost the only distinguishable feature, and must therefore be taken into consideration. The true Dorobo language, as now spoken, is closer to Bantu than Suk, and much closer than Masai. It appears that Suk broke off from the main group before the formation of the secondary suffix or "definite article"; Dorobo and the rest of the Bantu sub-group possess this suffix, which I believe is peculiar to this sub-group. Assuming, then, that the Bantu language passed through a stage with no secondary suffix, of which Suk is the only remaining example—and it must have done so, seeing that primary and secondary suffixes being used side by side, and the secondary suffix being obviously a later development of the primary form—how can we account for either (1) the presence of the secondary suffix in Dorobo if it was not of the genius of Bantu, since it could hardly be expected that the parent language would be as fully developed as its daughter; or (2) the absence from Suk of the secondary suffix, and its presence in Dorobo, if both Dorobo and Suk were early offshoots from the Bantu Suk-group? Consideration of the facts suggests that the secondary suffix was first used in the Nilote languages (Kavirondo, Nandi, etc.). Language and tradition seem to indicate that perhaps the first theory is the most tenable; yet against it may be urged, why should the Dorobo have assimilated the language and customs of the Bantu rather than those of the Masai? Should the first theory prove to be correct, we may suppose that the non-Bantu element in the Dorobo vocabulary represents the language spoken before they came into contact with the Bantu.

In the coastal area of Kenya Colony there live other hunting tribes, known as Boni,[1] Wasi,[2] and Sanye.[3] These tribes are of a very primitive description,

[1] [illegible]

[2] [illegible]

[3] [illegible]

Kikuyuliteratuur E-5 (1918-1939) 191: FLA Dundas FLA

[illegible] Most of these tribes are small, and most of them live on high, forested ground at altitudes of over 7000 feet, though those of Tanganyika live at a somewhat lower altitude. But the Kenya Dorobo, living in the high forests, still retain the preference of their ancestors for such country, though they used to hunt in the plains below. Seventy years ago much of the land under 7000 feet was occupied, though sparsely, by the Masai of the Rift Valley, which accounts for the statement in the list of tribes that the Central and Eastern groups are or were in contact with the Masai.

We do not know the origin of the Dorobo. Sir Harry Johnston believed that they may have been formed by the forerunners of the Masai who, he thought, absorbed a much larger proportion of the earlier dwarf race which once inhabited East Africa than was absorbed by the Nandi. This is open to question for several reasons. There is nothing to indicate that the Masai group entered East Africa much earlier than the Nandi group, and language suggests that the Dorobo made contact with the first Nandi settlers in the region of Mount Elgon. We may be certain, however, that the ancestors of the Dorobo were forest people. There is no objection to the supposition that they may have some pygmy blood, but this pygmy strain was mixed with the blood of other people who were not pygmies. As the true pygmies avoid the forest and keep, like the Masai and Nandi, to open country. It is possible that there was once a race of hunters who ranged over East Africa from whom are descended not only the Dorobo, but the lowland hunters near the coast known as Boni, Sanye, and Ndorobo, as well as the Watta of Mombasa; and if the identification of the Watta with the Uauas of the Egyptian inscriptions of the [illegible] dynasty is accepted, their antiquity is considerable.

However this may be, both Nandi and Masai regard the Dorobo as aboriginals, and their traditions indicate unmistakably that they found the Dorobo in Kenya when they arrived. Both have myths about the beginning of things in which there were originally three beings on earth: in the Masai version, an elephant, a snake, and a Dorobo; and in the Nandi, an elephant, the thunder, and a Dorobo. Moreover Orchardson quotes a Nandi myth that a Dorobo gave birth to a boy and girl who issued from a swelling on his leg and became the ancestors of the human race.[1] The Dorobo say, "We have always been here", and we may, I think, be justified in regarding the Dorobo not only as a distinct people, but as one of considerable antiquity.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

/56/

58. The Dendse

The last name on the list of problems in the occupation of the land are held by the tribes of the Ubi; Dendse. Here again there have been much confusion and lack of attention, and in spite of the continued existence of 'pockets' of so-called Dendse in many parts of East Africa we find ourselves beset with difficulties if we try to give a synoptic ethnological interpretation; the very converse here. Some would lump all the Dendse together with the other trapping tribes and call them aboriginal hunting people of a Bushman type, explaining obvious departures from that type by admixtures in varying amounts of Hamite and Negro blood. Others (including many Africans) think that the difference between them and the other tribes is simply one of culture[1], not of origin that the Dendse chose to play a way behind while the others, due to pressures, moved from the hunting-trapping-fishing stage to that of herding or herding-planting.

55. Joseph Thomson, in Through Masailand, written in 1880 or thereabouts, gives the following account:

> "The tribe - the tiny remnants of the Wa-ndorobbi - is a small race of people scattered over West-land for game there eaten [illegible] by the chase. They neither fish nor cultivate the land. The antelope, the buffalo, white elephant supply them with such meat as they may desire. While they always find neighbouring tribes [illegible] to bring, eager to exchange vegetable food for game. The elephant, however, seems to be their staple food, and so rich the Dendse are to be found very where there animals abound, as for instance

1. In the Uhehe of the present time there is a Uhehe [illegible] engaging in hunting and trapping [illegible] a certain village among the agricultural Uhehe, whereas others [illegible] Uhehe (or anybody else) who lives in the bush and lives as part of agriculture.

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and the Wagata of Kilimanjaro. The Watta may be the same as the Uasei of the Egyptian inscription of Usa (VI Dynasty), though certain Sudan authorities think the final 'r' may not be part of the name. But the Galla call the Sanye Wanya, plural Wanna[5], which may have a name Wa-, with a plural suffix in 'Y'; if we can accept this, we may see in Uasei a reduplication of the name Wa with a suffix 'Y', and if we may identify the Watta with the Uasei, we have historical evidence of the antiquity of the hunting tribes, and confirmation of the Torrit and Masai view that the Dorobo are the autochthonous inhabitants of Eastern Africa."

101

The following is extracted from a memorandum submitted by Lt. Colonel H.F. Hamilton, C.B.E., F.R.G.S.:-

"There seems little doubt that the greater part of Eastern and Central Africa, from the coast to the Congo forests, was originally inhabited in early times by short dwarfish peoples akin to the Pygmies of the Congo forests and the Bushmen of South Africa. As a result, first of these invasions, and later by invasions of Nilo-Hamites, these little people have been split up, exterminated or absorbed in part by these later arrivals, and so are now found in various parts of the country remnants of them only, some having adopted the speech and customs of the invaders either in part or whole, and all of them living lives of hunters in the hills and forests, few owning property except dogs. The most of these men with whom we are at present engaged perhaps the best known are the Dorobo (El Tuppe or Deatiq). The Dorobo, like the Ogiek and Kipsigis peoples, are hunters ...

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5. This would connect the Sanye with the Tua. But the peoples of the northern coast identify the Sanye with the Dahalo and consider the Tua a separate people.

/58 cont'd/

Physically, the Dorobo vary greatly, presumably according to the amount of mixture of other races in their blood. Some are very like the Andorobo, and therefore retain many ancient characteristics, while others are now almost indistinguishable from the non-Dorobo negroes, having lost their original characteristics and having adopted many of the Dorobo methods and customs. They, however, retain their primitive dwellings, and, except in a few instances, so far as I know, the Dorobo keep no domestic animals except the dog. Being by nature hunters, and semi-nomadic, it is not expected that their numbers will ever increase greatly, but they will in time become mostly absorbed in surrounding tribes ... In the country now occupied by the Kikuyu there were once many dwarf people akin to the Dorobo (or their predecessors) and the Ogiek. The Kikuyu are a Bantu tribe ... They attribute their origin to the Dorobo. They are invaders of the highlands, where they still up, exterminated or absorbed the original dwarf like inhabitants, known as Ogiek and Dorobo ... The present density of population of the /59/ Kikuyu is comparatively recent. They are comparatively recent migrants into the highlands. The low fertile plains previously occupied by them were not rich enough, and a growing need for land gradually forced them up to the loess belts of these forays, destroying or absorbing the aborigines as they advanced ... In the A'Kamba section, one may observe Kikuyu with features like Europeans as a result of their absorption of the primitive Ogiek and Dorobo, while in other sections, the Kikuyu have a more Semitic type of countenance as a result of these dominations ... the Dorobo have been here for many thousands of years, having probably the original or almost the original inhabitants ...

It is not certainly to be justified, without further evidence, in assuming that all these hunting people were closely related or had a common aboriginal ancestor in Africa merely because they can be conveniently classed together as hunting tribes.

(fiji cont'd)

Q.1 Her answer is that, in a very general sense, they have a common culture. All the tribes in the Land Unit, except the Swoke and Nilaka, and the 1950 Commission feel they were in fact kept of culture too old or long ago.

65. Somewhat different groupings of tribe and sub-tribe and peoples descended from the original Swoke tribe were given in evidence before the Land Commission by another witness, Mr. Carlisle Lock, based on information he had acquired by means of his position as "a chief elder in more tribes than one". He said:

> "As a result of my researches, I find that the Swoke are generally correctly the original settlers of the Colony, and have history goes back thousands and thousands of years. The Swoke are a people, not always a part of a people: the Swoke are the people which we have a Swoke all through these and Kilaya, but often we refer up here" (i.e. in the vicinity of Kisaka) "the Swoke is not a Swoke any longer in the same way. The Bay Kisaka and its tribe and these tribes in Figan are also the original Swoke ... of the coast, similar to were originally Swoke, viz., the Kulet and the Wanilaka ... There are three groups ... the Wakimara, the Wadaretta and the Tarawan or Nalibara. These three peoples were original inhabitants, and, vanquished by the incoming Wasai, were re-organised and grouped under the division of the Wasai called the Wakilyan, together with the [illegible] and the Wangarra, who remained in from the north, and fought here on the beaches for a very long period, eventually making a breach in what we called the Swoke, also on the original tribes, of which the Bagidu and the first number to be sub-tribes. They all believe together ... The Swoke [illegible] peoples came from the East and claim to be of the same descent as the Swoke. They came up here and mixed with the Swoke ... Bay Kisaka is of royal blood, I have this oath, and can trace its pedigree back for hundreds and hundreds of years ... (Bay Kisaka's tribe) have always Figan for thousands of years ... He belongs to the group

/17 cont'd/

called the Isaac Cattle Thief, who owned all his land. They are the ancient Berthee[1], the bulk of whom passed down into the south. /18/ There are scattered remains of them round Bilimaspan. The rest of the group are to be seen in South Africa. These people held title to land here for thousands and thousands of years .... the Ibanka were the ancestors of the country .... the Ibanka were the original owners of cattle, and the Ghazi and others took their cattle from the Ibanka; they were slaves.[2]

/19

66. Further work differs from the "Ibanka Committee" in that to match the Ibanka pen-artist and pen-painted cattle (the pen-artist and pen-painted) the tribe having suffered disintegration at the hands of persons invaders who took their cattle from them.

67. We now have two views of the Ibanka tribe which are certainly difficult to reconcile. One view is that the Ibanka were originally primitive peoples of a Bushman type, in a hunting, roaming stage of culture, which culture they retained in spite of many years (in certain sections) of Negro and Nilo-Hamitic blood. They neither kept cattle nor cultivated. The other is that the Ibanka were the aristocrats, the only possessors in Eastern Africa, in ethnic consequence of their ownership, considered

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[1] A. The Berthee have been held responsible for various ruins in the ground in the Kyasuu Province and elsewhere, which are in fact known as "Berthee ruins", and even apparently used as dwellings. See GG. 1 (i). Question One, in a memorandum addressed to the Land Commission, writes: "In some remote period, probably not less than 500 years ago, a tribe, about which very little indeed is known, called the Berthee, entered Elgeyo from the north and north-west. They built but no stone plinths some of which remain to this day in various parts of Elgeyo proper. It has been suggested that they were responsible for the admirably engineered series of irrigation furrows in both Sheshinon and Soab". If the Berthee were capable of such engineering I would even that the "Berthee ruins" should be attributed to another people, possibly of the Cushite type.

/Of cont'd/

intercommunity by electronic rays rather than transfused by peaceful penetration, caused a type of humanimal (some of the tribes we have with us today) inferior to themselves. There is very little in general principle common to these two views except that the Dorobo, if it possess them, can claim some small degree of ethnicality in both. 174 ●

Dr. D. L. S. B. Leakey told the Land Commission: - 101

"... there are Dorobo and Dorobo. There are Dorobo who are the ancient of the Dorobo and are a tribe quite distinct from anything I know in this country. They speak a language which I have completely failed to connect up with any of the languages spoken by the other tribes here. There are two or three families living on the Mau today. Round that section you have deserters from Masai, Kikuyu, Nandi, Lumbwa, and all sorts of other people. You thus come across a mixed Dorobo people who have left their tribes and become Dorobo in the wide sense. Up behind Kijabe there are innumerable families, half true Dorobo and half Kikuyu ... They call themselves Kikuyu, but live like Dorobo ..." [197]

Modern Kikuyu opinion among the older men is that the Dorobo, though legends suggest a remote relationship with the Kikuyu as well as others, were a separate tribe, speaking a language of their own, who subsequently became mixed up with other people who adopted their way of life. Some identify them with the Ii-Kumoo of the Masai, but the Dorobo of Kenya repudiate this and point out that there were no smiths among them and that they bought their spears and iron implements from the Masai and, later on, the Kikuyu. Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, however, regards the Dorobo as a Kikuyu-Gumba blend. In Facing Mount Kenya he writes: 174 [325] [439] 174 144

"... even after the Gumba had disappeared as a race, there came into being another race of hunters known as Ndorobo or Aathi, who seemed to have grown like mushrooms in the forests.

/58 cont'd/

Unlike their predecessors, they were not dorr in custom, but something between the Gumba and the Kikuyu. Also they did not live underground, but built their homes on the surface, almost on similar lines to those of the Gikuyu homesteads. Their language, too, was similar to the Gikuyu. To a certain extent the two tribes could understand one another with little difficulty.

With these evidences it would not be assuming too much to say that the interbreeding between the Gumba and the Gikuyu was responsible for the disappearance of the Gumba as a distinct race, and the producing of the Kamasia or Kalji, who became the new owners and the masters of the forests ..."

/59/ 66. With regard to language I have satisfied myself that the Dorobo now living at Kericho, who are the ones with whom we are particularly concerned, spoke a language of the Nandi type. Old men still speak it, though they also speak Kikuyu. The younger men use Kikuyu almost exclusively. In the Dorobo language, as still spoken by the older men, there has been considerable borrowing from Masai, though the bulk of the vocabulary is Nandi-like. But when both Masai and Nandi are excluded there remains perhaps an element which may be a residuum of pure original Dorobo, or may merely represent the degree of variation one would expect to any dialect isolated from the other dialects of its group for a lengthy period, as one must suppose this particular dialect of Nandi or pre-Nandi to have been. The old men say that the language they speak today is the only language spoken by their tribe in former times, so far as they know. They can manage to understand a Nandi or a Kipsigis, but do not find it easy. As far as I could make out in the time at my disposal the grammar of the language, like its vocabulary, is of a Nandi type. A few comparisons are given here to illustrate the vocabulary. Substantives are given in the form with the article and verbs are shown as stems only.

[illegible]

/[illegible]/

	Sheetja	Hanifi	Khas
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	(ol) milliem
Khas	[illegible]	[illegible]	
Kumba	/beg[illegible]/a		/[illegible]-ng[illegible]/a (ole oloibeg)
Kikuyu	(gue, bugue)		(i)kobuyo
Sheetja	ngisti (pl.)	elkoti (pl.)	
Hanifi	/beg[illegible]/anti (pl.)		
Kamphaan	nyun (pl. [illegible])		/[illegible]-nyun (ole ilpiro) meny[illegible]/
name	nyun	nun	
gi	si	si	
kidaw	nyur		
leg	sil	sil (ol)	
eat	[illegible]ti		
man	mesh	mesh	
he	ni	ni	

Complete accuracy is not claimed for this list of Sheetja words; accuracy is not easy when one is dealing with aged men with untrained minds; they are apt to answer in long sentences which doubtless contain the words one wants but enveloped under a mass of verbiage entirely unintelligible to one not previously acquainted with their language. But the list is sufficiently accurate to fulfil its purpose, which is to relate the speech of these Sheetja to some other dialect if such a relationship exists in fact.

If, and that, I think, is just about as far as we can go towards an ethnological synopsis of the Sheetja people in the present state of knowledge. It seems, then, likely that there was some section of a people who retained their hunting culture when the rest of them assumed a settled pastorality or agriculture. But what these people were we cannot yet say. The scanty evidence we have points to their being something other than a Bantu-speaking tribe, and this Hamite of a Hanifi type would seem to fit the facts as well as any. It would be useful to have our findings on their language, but if we cannot succeed to talk of Bantu immigrations from the east and this Hamite

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] told the 1929 Commission that they have no aboriginals (Dumbo), and said "There was an older tribe to the Nandi when we came" and "We only have of Kikuyu, Wakamba, Masai, Swahili" by which they meant that these five tribes were the only African strangers they had encountered in their pastoral territory. They had just previously told the Commission that they had bought the Wandei the possession of the ash-hide and had driven out the Masai.

But when the Masai said "Swahili" they meant Swahili, and there were in fact two Swahili present at the Barazza. They were probably of the 3 Swahili sections who were always certainly the Swahili mentioned by Meinertzhagen in his Elephant Hunting in East Equatorial Africa as living near Kisumu (in Upper Kavirondo). Meinertzhagen wrote:

> "The Swahili people were probably all Bantu once, but much has been changed, and a large proportion of the land is cultivated by the natives, who are numerous here [...] All these people are akin to those of Kikuyu, but there is a clan of Wakikuyu (a branch of the Masai) living alongside of Kisumu, and a community of Wakamba also. They have distinct words, with different customs, live side by side."

Mr. [illegible] is an altogether remarkable, however, that his Masai were not Masai Swahili rather than Masai. Most writers who mention them appear to have considered them a section of the Masai who had taken to agriculture, and Johnston in his Uganda Protectorate says:

> "These settlements of agricultural Masai in the Kavirondo (i.e. towards the Coast) were called by the Nandi native 'Suswa', which is Masai not Kavirondo in origin, but which has been progressively wrong in its adoption by Kipsigi."

Archer, in a memorandum to the Land Commission, suggested that the name Suswa was a Nandi corruption of the Masai word [illegible] as

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

"The various members of the several tribes with the exception of the Dubbondo appear to have been driven to what is now known as Kikuyu mostly by stress of famine and most [illegible] occupied by Dubbondo. The Dubbondo seem to have received these immigrants hospitably and to have sold them [illegible] which were originally determined by planting 'kibanda' there and which growing up formed permanent landmarks, the Dubbondo to this day descending from father to son. In the course of time owing to the gradual spreading of the Kikuyu therefore the bulk of the Dubbondo were driven from the country".

19. Dondo and Forest Kikuyu

In regard to the tertiary south of the Uaso Nyiro (the present Dondo District) it may be said with confidence that the forest area (north were occupied then than only were in the exceptions, probably somewhat sparse, of a Dondo people at the time of the Kikuyu advent. The Dondo Kikuyu and the [illegible] remember that:

"In the very first place the country about here was occupied by Dubbondo who were famous ... There were Dondo in this District as far as the Uaso".

The Commissioners recorded the opinion that "the Dondo District was certainly the last to be occupied and Dondo were living here [illegible]".

Mr. [illegible] Leakey, in his study of the Southern Kikuyu, has recorded a number of facts and opinions concerning the Dondo and other Kikuyu native law customs. The following are extracts:

"There is no record that the Dubbondo hunting tribe were ever in effective occupation of the part of the country" i.e. the [illegible] area, "and the only previous inhabitants were a few [illegible] who called by the Kikuyu Dondo, or Dondo o Ngare Nanu people, lived at present, and have been a pygmy race, but in addition, and having no organized tribal occupation even for hunting purposes.

/BE cont'd/

"Both of the Cheeks over the position are very different, a few families of Cwmtle older living here and there in the lower - a fact which even the Rhondwdds admit - but they were mostly numbered along on a generations movement and hiding from the real invaders, the Rhondwdds.

"The Rhondwdds were, like the Cwmtle, a hunting people, but I would seem that they were much more organised and accustomed to their new surroundings than were, in the first year, officials used to nobbles entering in hunting rights...

"The Cwmtle described the Rhondwdds as the arse a Cwmtle as 'Eaters of the Dark Land', and never spoke of them among themselves as the Rhondwdds, which was the name by which they were known to the Cwmtle.

"The word Rhondwdds has been used by Europeans in Cwmtle to describe the native hunting tribes that inhabit the lower areas of the Cwmtle highlands, and there is no doubt at all that the name has been used to describe several distinct tribal entities which anthropologists and linguists would have no difficulty in distinguishing from each other on the grounds of race and common use language. For the purpose of this study we must narrow our definition only into that tribe called Rhondwdds by the Europeans, which comprised the three bands which had been brought to the Cwmtle, and the descendants of those who still living in the lower or the boundary of Cwmtle vicinity in the Cwmtle region and confirmed as in the maps of the Cwmtlean movement. There are some not in these bounded settlements who are in a minority in the Rhondwdds of the area, and some of them have a place in the population of Cwmtle itself in their area, but [illegible] they are always many common which are quite different in some of the Cwmtle and they are often among themselves a common language of their own, although most of all of them can speak Cwmtle, the one a common process.

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

> [illegible] the late Rev. W. A. Wininger [illegible] but were living [illegible] formerly on the Church Missionary Society Station which he founded and called Kibenshetta, and which was [illegible] Kukena, acknowledging as old for places the Kibaya name[2].

which suggest that the alternative to "Bwile a Kukena" was based on an old tribal or sub-tribal name rather than on the name of some physiographical feature[3]. On these grounds it might be argued that though the predominating factor in the ethnological make-up of the Kukenaman Kibaya is an influx of Kibaya people from Mpwapwa the people recognise (or used to recognise) a very considerable element of Kukena (Kukena, perhaps the same as Kwavi) blood, which may (we) have had its origin in a Kukena tribe[4]. The similarity of the word Kukena to the names of Kwavi clans may be significant.

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1. The actual place originally called Kukena is an open piece of ground in the vicinity, where water could also be had.

2. The following is an extract from Chief Kimange's evidence before the Land Commission: "[illegible] none of the Kukena warriors were killed. There are remained here in the Kibaya and about the boy should be allowed to live amongst them at Kukena. They [illegible] go to Kimange and be as a Kibaya originally, and another man who called Kibaya as Kukena, nephew of Kimange. The chief of these Kukena Mbaa is also a Kibaya, because he was born in the Kibaya District. They [illegible] called "Mbaa"[1], i.e. ("Mbaa" by the Mbaa), and we call him Kibaya"[2]. The two sentences suggest a recognition of a relationship, but whether of blood or about sufficient to [illegible] Kukena, although the whole passage [illegible] a mixture of blood. In a memorandum on the Land Inquiry Chief Kimange remarks: "The Kibaya and Mbaa were one and both were necessary to [illegible]. They are one people a Kukena Mbaa, one are regarded as Kibaya Mbaa (Kukena)[3].

3. During Mbaa [illegible], Mr. Jones [illegible] tells of [illegible] the Kukena [illegible] particularly because the Kukena Mbaa and the Kukena [illegible].

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

CHAPTER VI

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Kenyatta--70 G-6 (ca. 1935-1950) 1960 FL10 Kikuyu FL10
Dorobo FL6

frame of mind. The Kikuyu asked for no promise of tenure and required no services; they wanted land and nothing else, and meant to get it. Whatever may have been the reason for their exodus, they had deliberately to all intents and purposes abrogated their own claims to land and gone to seek a country where they could start afresh unencumbered by the rights of kindred growing more and more remote and more and more in number (1). The Dorobo, with their

> 1. cf. J.M. Driberg, At home with the Savage. "One consequence of this basically religious conception of property is that it creates the impulse to acquire property which would be free from clan control.

knowledge of the process to the north, must have seen their case as fairly hopeless. Their only chance was symbiosis, but a symbiosis based on clan-adoption or some equivalent bond. The only other course was constant enmity, guerilla warfare, for they would not dare oppose much show of force to a people whom they recognized as much the stronger; they would have had no use for open war against a numerous tribe who, though not warlike either, were not unused to war and not by any means ill-organized to wage it. They would try, no doubt, to set a limit to what they deemed an inevitable encroachment. But the Kikuyu wanted agricultural land and doubtless could insist on agricultural rights within those areas as a precondition of blood-brotherhood; they had come from territory where they owned no land in the sense that they could alienate it permanently from the joint-control of wider units based on blood-relationship, but where a ritual blood-relation by adoption could acquire an equal status with a blood-relation of comparable generation-age, basing his rights on patrilineal birth. Such adoption in itself entailed and still entails no sale of any kind. The adoptee nowadays is most commonly an indigent young man, but anyone who is prepared to abandon his clan or tribe can be adopted. He then becomes a member of the family and is expected to behave as such. He is given land to cultivate, can share the family's food supply, and is required to share his wealth, whether he brings it with him or acquires it later, with any of the family who need such help. A Kikuyu, relinquishing

S:Lambert--75 G-6 (ca. 1935-1950) 1954 FILED Kikuyu FILE Dorobo FILE

DK 177

his tribe and adopted by a "Mwathi," could claim a limited use of land. That, in itself, would be enough to guarantee a footing in the forest. Up to this point there would have been no sale, redeemable or otherwise, but the Kikuyu would have obtained a bit of land to cultivate and the Dorobo some assurance of a meat supply when his hunting, as no doubt was not uncommonly the case, had failed to [p. 102] get it for him. Quite possibly the Kikuyu would have had an agreeable surprise at the area of the land so put at his disposal, for the Dorobo's view of area, based on a very different elementary culture, might well have induced him to point out a portion which, used agriculturally, would more than meet the food requirements of a family of any size the grantee could foresee in any period of time with which he need concern himself. The arrangement, up to now, would have been one of mutual benefit and mutual obligation —a cultivation right for one, and a more securely guaranteed subsistence for the other.

It has been alleged, however, that it was generally the Dorobo who was adopted, not the Kikuyu. There were several reasons why this might be true. First, it was perhaps the Dorobo who sought adoption as the only method known to him and acceptable to the immigrants by which he could attain a symbiotic mutuality involving obligations not readily revoked. Second, it was the Kikuyu who could find the more easily the ceremonial sheep required and third, if the Kikuyu were adopted he would not at once acquire the status of an equal with the Dorobo family's head but only that pertaining to the second generation or the third, which would not suit him. And fourth, the Kikuyu thereby left a loophole of escape; he could de-adopt a burdensome blood-brother when he deemed the time was ripe. The immediate effect, however, would be much the same; each would acquire the right to share the other's wealth and share the family's resources, whether in land or stock or food or labor.

If the demand for goats became excessive, as it very likely would, no doubt the Kikuyu would regret he had no more to spare but could, perhaps by borrowing, oblige his dear blood-brother if only he had some security to give. This security almost certainly would take the form of land, and the transaction, in Kikuyu eyes, would be quite right and proper, a mortgaging of land against a loan of goats. That would be a "sale," but redeemable of course, in accordance with the

necessary ~~be granted~~ to ~~Ukwaa~~. But the Kikoyo's ~~case~~ would be at once, ~~as the probability of such a redemption would be almost~~ negligible. The Dorobo's only way to get the necessary grass would be to mortgage all ~~his~~ land and ~~so~~ exchange a piece all under ~~lease~~ for another piece ~~now~~ largely useless, heavy-forest ~~low~~ land, ~~as a Dorobo, plenty useless anyway, unless it yielded up, from time to time the grass~~ ~~can be desired.~~ Another way to raise the grass would be the adoption of another ~~home-~~Dorobo, but his blood-brother, having acquired an equal status with the family-head in family councils, could put a stop to that, and no doubt would do so unless he welcomed the proposed adoption as a neighbor settler. In any case this method, like the last, would merely mean relinquishing a piece of useful land in order to redeem another piece of land by one comparatively useless. If the Dorobo could get himself adopted by another Kikoyo, but in doing so he would certainly relinquish all the rights he shared in common with his five blood-brother and become the latter sole ~~controller~~ of the land. An adopted man who gets himself adopted ~~somewhere else~~ ~~abandons~~ his first adoptive social unit and all his rights therein, the adoptee can adopt as many as he likes provided that his equals in the family do not object. Another way to get the grass the Dorobo ~~wanted~~, not by redemption, but by ~~daughter~~, would rest with the Kikoyo. He could persuade, probably quite easily, his brother family-head to let him mortgage some of the land, the use of which he had himself acquired, to a Kikoyo kinsman who had grass to spare, and so obtain a footing in the home for a relative or friend. Whichever way it went the Kikoyo in the course of time would gain control and the Dorobo, sick at heart, would wander off and leave his own protector to his backing, for of course that owner protector, morally though not strictly ~~however~~, and legally though not in practice subject to the onerous obligations that the oath imposed, would by now have gathered round him an imposing show of brother-backers apt in machination, as in backing, as himself.

[B.105] Acquisition by adoption

So far we have noticed two ways by which Kikoyo kinsmen could have obtained a footing in the Dorobo forests. The first is adoption. The common practice here is that the man who desires a refuge or a permanent home in the country of another clan or tribe will ~~not~~ adoption [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] and adoption laws. For the [illegible] kinds of Kikuyu land [illegible] to the most possible [illegible] the effective owner began the Kikuyu could have gained no confidence [illegible] by members. They would not [illegible] out an area for clearing of the land without the leave of anyone. Then the [illegible] would appear and raise an objection to the encroachment on their means of livelihood. Quite possibly a few Kikuyu had already died from poisoned arrow heads or been by unseen hands who resented the intrusion on their hunting grounds, and the Kikuyu settlement would have had to mean a common good by day and night to try to stop such murders, and would have had to provide armed watch every time their women went out from the [illegible] stockaded stores. Neither the Kikuyu nor the Dorobo would have liked this sort of affair. The former cared agricultural land, and peaceful possession was the safer way to get it; the latter [illegible] with a few occasional killings here and there among the non-hunters would be of no avail, the encroachments would continue. The obvious answer was adoption, which, at least in theory, would give both peoples something of what they wanted. But the Kikuyu, [illegible] by sex by reason of their numbers—there are probably no more than one Dorobo family to a ridge—would claim that the adopting should be done by them, they being the only party with the power to guarantee protection to the other. But the two [illegible] consisted no sale of any kind and no exchange of property. The new exchange was that of men involving a unity of clan, a community of wealth, the sharing of resources, reciprocal assistance, mutual trust and an unstinting aid by either clan the other was in need—in fact the obligations common decency and custom and the [illegible] moved of clan relations to the core.

[illegible] by pledge

The second way—as that of granting cultivation rights to land [illegible] the temporary accommodation of loss of grass. This was the so-called redeemable sale of all the other tribes within the Unit, including the Kikuyu to the north. There can be little doubt that [illegible] the Kikuyu from Nyeri crossed the Chania they brought their

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

> [illegible]

[illegible]

A great deal of evidence before the Land Commission suggested much the same thing, that is, that in the early days of immigration much of the Chatham Islands was on clear intention of finality of payment, but that later on what purported to be a final payment was usually made in at least some cases and accepted as such, however reluctantly, by the Islands concerned.

[illegible]

[illegible]

1. On the "Gentile Commission" of 1925 recorded [illegible] "that moral standing [i.e. of the boys, Isaac and Ben] is a criterion that it seems very unlikely that they can be classified with either the Lulu or the Gentiles. Intermarriage between them and either of these tribes is unknown."

of the boys [illegible]

(a) c.f. Gentile cases in 1936:

"Boys' girls in some cases were bought in marriage by the male (human) who then settled among the tribes. The male being an adult, they considered even of them to their fathers to be a trade price." (1)

2. Quoted by the 1936 Commission.

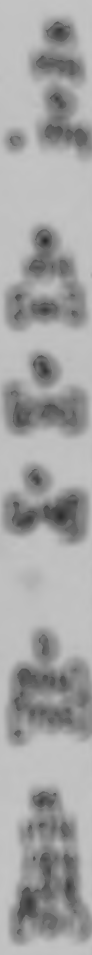
This was the connection in its proper light. It is incorrect to call of girls in currency with which to "purchase" each [illegible], possibly, in default of goats, one currency with which to "purchase" girls. Girls did not merely take the place of goats in currency, although the phraseology of certain witnesses (both white and black) suggests that they did. For instance, girls could not be used in lieu of goats in payment for the bride-price fathers or their brothers (according to the tribe's view) had arranged to "purchase" from tribes who had joined their groups by being made blood-brothers for the purpose of the "ceremony." That would be unreasonable in most cases, for each group, including its new members, was exogamous. (3). If there had been reciprocal blood-brotherhood between two groups instead of plain adoption by the parties to the "ceremony" the marriage would cancel the husband's status as a blood-brother of the "boys'" group (3). But

3 [illegible]

3. There are forms of so-called blood-brotherhood among some tribes which do not involve exogamy, e.g. the Zande of the Sudan, where it is thought desirable for a man to marry his blood-brother's daughter. But this does not apply to forms in which the blood-brother is "viewed as the son of one's own mother."

[illegible]

[illegible]



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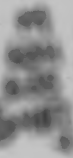

Ill. 1. Young Mossi. A sabi n zaro ribandiri, il entend enfin l'étranger [illegible] à Koubritenga.

D 197 /15 cont./
the El aiki also have their own idiom, which will be briefly discussed at a later place.

M 197 802 184 D 197 802 D M 771 304 819 [191] D M 174 [844] [846] P M 614 613 P M 128
Corresponding to the uniformity in language, the number words are the same among the Masai and Wakuafi, whereas the Asá and El aiki have their own words for only a few numbers, but in general always make use of the ones used by the other two branches. One finds a complete correspondence for all three branches in their religious view, and the manner of circumcision customary among both sexes. The peculiar circumcision of the boys is practiced by no other people at all, with the exception of one lineage of the Taveta, closely related to the Masai people. In birth and death, too, all three have the same customs, while in the rest of their customs one finds only unessential differences which are based solely on the difference in their external way of life. The most striking proof for the three branches' belonging together, however, lies in their descent.

The people as a whole are divided into three large tribes, the Il aiser, the El molelyan, and the El meigana, each of which is made up of a number of lineages, and every Asá, as well as every Ol imafi and Ol mamani, is a representative of one of these lineages.

If we now concern ourselves further with the ethnography of the Masai in particular, which is at the same time that of the Wakuafi, we are thereby including the ethnographic traits of the entire people; the stressing of individual differences that have developed among the Wandorobbo in the course of time and under the influence of changed conditions will be reserved for the third part.

/16/ Second Part

I.

000 Tribes, lineages, sublineages. -- The El gidoi lineage. -- The chief: his rule and policy, magic medicines, genealogical tree, village, ceremonies, foods. -- The sorcerers. -- The El kiborón lineage. -- The rainmakers.

M 614 613
Every tribe (olé gishomi) is divided, as has already been mentioned, into a number of lineages (ol gelata, el gelat). Among these, in turn, one distinguishes principal lineages (ol gelata kitok)

18: Merker--339 G-6 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai
Dorobo FL8
Aas

/256 cont./

XIII.

000 Language. -- Numbers. -- Times of the day. -- Designations of the closest days in the past and future.

197 The Aaá speak two different idioms, namely, first, depending on their place of residence, one of the dialects spoken by the Masai, and, secondly, a linguistic mixture that has become a separate "language." Its basic element is an older dialect of the Masai people, which in the course of time has acquired two admixtures. The older of the two stems from the Tatoga language (1).

1. Probably also from that of another Semite people already extinct, that is, through mixture with Negroes, disappeared among them.

174 197 192 When the Aaá migrated into the East African steppes, they found here the Tatoga as livestock nomads and the Saneka as a poor hunting people who belonged to the Tatoga people. The intercourse that arose between all three may have brought about the adoption of Tatoga words into the Aaá language and the transformation of Aaá words into a form resembling Tatoga. This process advanced further when the Aaá were displaced by the second band of the Masai people, and the Tatoga and Saneka, having become hunters in the meantime, became their teachers, who helped them develop from stock raisers to hunters. This Tatogaization of the Aaá words is expressed particularly in the mutilation of the article and appending to the substantive one of the endings common in the Tatoga language.

177 197 192 Now, since the Aaá to this day are in close contact with the Wakuafi and Masai, they also adopted words from them, i.e., words of the more recent Masai dialects and also words from Negro languages, which found entry among them through the Wakuafi mixed with Negroes. This is the more recent of the two admixtures.